

ways in which schools and their students, both during and after their school years, negotiate the shifting 'politics of identity' and the ways in which French, English, and bi/multilingualism inevitably play a part in this ever-changing process. In other words, the addition of an update chapter would have further strengthened an already strong, extremely readable, and theoretically rich and informed analysis.

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M. RAFAEL SALABERRY (ed.), *Language Allegiances and Bilingualism in the U.S.* Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters. 2009. 212 pp. Hb (978184769181) £59.95/\$99.95 / Pb (9781747691774) £24.95/\$39.95.

Reviewed by NYDIA FLORES-FERRÁN

The connection between language and the sense of affiliation with culture and identity – that notion of allegiance – has been discussed by many scholars. But the provocative and disturbing treatment of this topic by Salaberry is unique. He has assembled a league of well-respected scholars that evoke strong messages: enough is enough!

Zentella (2003: 54) has argued that

[e]ver since the 1970s, when demographers began to predict that Hispanics would become the largest minority group in the nation in the early part of the twenty-first century, policies that restrict legal, educational, health, and employment services have been implemented at local, state, and national levels. Those policies frustrated immigrant efforts to pull out of poverty, while an elite class amassed unprecedented wealth, based in part on the cheap labor of Latinos and other immigrants. The resulting economic disparities constitute serious challenges to our democratic ideals of equality and justice, yet they receive much less attention than the English proficiency of immigrants.

But the book's treatment regarding language allegiances is not only about Latinos; it is about the rights of human beings who live in a free democratic society. This collection of essays does not necessarily call for more research. In reading the book, one gets a sense that the topic of language allegiances has been researched sufficiently from distinct perspectives and yet, policy makers, education, law, and labor, etc. remain unresponsive. Several book chapters provoke unsettling thoughts while they also help us develop an awareness of existing contradictions and deleterious practices in our education and legal

systems. In essence, the book reveals new insights about our systems' failures to address the American beings we are today.

One may ask how the editor, M. Rafael Salaberry, managed to elicit such a reaction with an edited volume that has very distinct topics. First, Salaberry sets the tone by introducing and embracing the scholarship related to language identity and affiliation in the first chapter. For instance, from a sociolinguistic perspective, he points to studies that have been conducted on second and third-generation Latinos and the manner in which the system progressively pushes a mainstream U.S. culture – pushing its citizenry to become culturally homogeneous. From a legal perspective, the book also delves into how language is an essential property of cultural identity, and how the workplace and our legal system have not conformed to the fact that employees should have the right to speak the language of their identity. The book also explores the reasons why there is a disfavoring of bilingualism in the U.S. as a national practice: American nationalism. In essence, in its nine chapters, Salaberry tackles the topic of language allegiances at the micro and macro level in the U.S. Among the issues discussed are community attitudes, linguistic profiling, language legal rights, ethno-linguistic hegemony, the deconstruction and construction of mono-lingual ideologies, and bilingual education today. He has assembled the best scholars to engage the reader on each subject: Almeida Jaqueline Toribio; Nancy Niedzielski; Dennis Preson; Sandra del Valle; Thomas Ricento; Ronald Schmidt; and Ofelia García.

Toribio, in Chapter 2, presents an empirical study on the language attitudes of residents of Reading, Pennsylvania – what is now known as a small industrial city but which was, in the early 70s, a well-known transient migrant-worker stop for many Hispanics. By way of ethnography, she insightfully discusses Dominican Hispanics' perceptions regarding language loyalties. The study's micro analysis shows how Dominicans in Reading maintain their Spanish language practices and how '[t]he practices of the dominant society are not necessarily the most vital in achieving social and economic success; maintenance of distinct cultural practices are also implicated' (p. 39). She cautions the reader to examine co-ethnic settlements of Hispanics in other geographic areas that have witnessed a recent and significant influx of Dominican immigrants. Although Dominicans report a strong attachment to their heritage language, and it is a strong indicator and expression of ethnicity, the fact that this city has had Hispanic residents over the past 40 years may have mediated the positive effects produced in the study. Of the many contributions found in this chapter, one noticeable point reported by Toribio is the fact that the Dominicans in Reading differentiate themselves from other Hispanic groups – such as the Puerto Ricans, who maintain distinct language loyalties to Spanish and English.

Chapter 3, by Niedzielski, represents a rude awakening with regard to how learners of English are perceived by speech therapists. We learn from this chapter that the special-education field has not been the only one saturated with misplaced English language learners (ELLs). In this chapter, Niedzielski

discusses how Speech Language Pathologists (SLPs) have also been impacted by the presence of ELLs in their practice, and the misconceptions that have arisen regarding these learners. The author approaches this chapter with several themes: one is the myth that there exists one 'general American English', a good kind, which all speakers should speak and that anything different represents a disorder. Another theme she discusses is the fact that linguists, in particular those who research variation, need to draw connections to the field of speech pathology and vice versa. Niedzielski also points to issues related to non-standard dialects which have often been considered symptomatic of speech disorders. Although the author claims that not all SLP practitioners feel that all non-standard dialects need 'to be fixed' (p. 69), university programs that graduate students in the SLP field do not provide courses in the field of sociolinguistics.

Preston's Chapter 4 on linguistic profiling presents a compelling discussion about whether lay persons have the capacity (linguistic) to determine the identity of a speaker with any degree of accuracy. It also discusses to what degree, if any, these capacities can be used as legitimate sources of information during testimony. While Preston reports from a poll that an unprecedented majority of people claim that they *can* determine the identity of a person by their voice, the application of that information is even more disturbing from a linguistic perspective. Namely, people claim that 'testimony of voice witness accounts should be admissible in court' (p. 56). Preston goes on to explain language variation and dialect studies conducted by other scholars (Baugh; Labov; Niedzielski; Thomas and Reaser) and how language variation and dialectal distinctions may affect the accuracy of laypersons in determining the identity of a speaker. Thus, he cautions readers that linguists should be careful in characterizing to others the degree of accuracy in laypersons' identification of speech. In closing, Preston provides several suggestions to improve linguistic profiling. What we learn from this chapter is that the judicial system should consult sociolinguists – expert scholars trained in the field – who can serve as expert witnesses, rather than laypersons who gather opinions based on 'it sounds to me as if . . .'.

The workplace and language rights are discussed by Del Valle. In particular, she draws on two cases of employment discrimination where bilingual employees were fired for violating an English-only policy at work. In opening, however, Del Valle's chapter presents findings from a 2005 case of child abuse and neglect in which a judge warned an 18-year-old mother from Mexico to learn English or risk losing her child. Del Valle's accounts of cases such as these, and the national anxiety that she suggests the U.S. is facing post 9/11, present a picture of a hostile nation, a new xenophobic profile that has embraced the legal system. Del Valle argues that the U.S. legal system to date does not have a statute that protects the language rights of its citizenry, especially under the civil rights law, a legal gap that positions the U.S. as 'abysmally "tongue-tied"' (p. 104).

It has been often argued that the nation is at risk, and that the number of U.S. citizens studying a foreign language is dismal when we compare it to other

nations (Simon 1988). However, Recinto's chapter delves into the orientation of 'language-as-a-resource' and how this orientation temporarily masks the maintenance of heritage-language use. While the country, he notes, lacks in strategic languages such as Arabic, Farsi, etc., it bemoans the same programs that benefit language learning in the country: bilingual and foreign-language education. Ricento also claims that the 'language-as-a-right' orientation has little chance of supporting the status of minority languages which he considers is already truncated. The author calls for a re-thinking of the association between language and its geopolitical importance. He asks that we promote languages across-the-board with proactive policies, not temporary remedies.

Schmidt's chapter on English hegemony and the politics of ethno-linguistic justice in the U.S. is an essay on how the country over its history has obliterated immigrant-language use and has promoted its preference to homogenize its speakers. While the U.S., Schmidt argues, has had no 'official language' policy, in practice, it has had an assimilationist approach to English. Thus, it should *not* surprise Schmidt that there is no significant political movement in favor of linguistic pluralism. Schmidt explains that it is the nation's core values – predominantly U.S. nationalism – that supports monolingualism and that these values have been compounded with the post 9/11 surges against immigrants. In summary, Schmidt claims that a combination of English-language hegemony, a linguistically self-centered understanding of U.S. nationalism, and the interpretation of individuals' understanding of freedom and equality for all, together, undermine the development of a multilingual society, one which gave birth to the nation in the first place.

García's chapter 'Livin' and teachin' *la lengua loca*', begins with a discussion regarding the presence of Spanish in U.S. history. The chapter presents two monoglossic constructions: one which constructs Spanish as a 'minority' language, and the second that positions Spanish in the Spanish-speaking world – the global perspective. In discussing the monoglossic ideologies constructed in the U.S., García illustrates the disparities found in the U.S. Census data collection with regard to the use of Spanish as opposed to English. She even contends with issues of how foreign-born U.S. Latinos are considered as monolinguals when, indeed, all data show that more than half of this population is bilingual. The treatment of this topic boils down to this message: the monoglossic ideology is constructed by *racializing* (her italics) the Spanish in the U.S. With regard to the global perspective, the author also discusses the economic, political, and cultural power that comes with Spanish today based on the economic surge in Spain which strongly supports the South American economy. García's position is this: if it were not for the U.S. Latino market, the global standing of Spanish would not be where it is today. The metaphoric expressions used throughout this chapter to describe both ideologies, educational aspect of Spanish as a 'foreign' and heritage language, and the erasure of this language, are unique, relevant, and concisely situated throughout the chapter.

The last chapter presents Salaberry's views on bilingual education: assimilation, segregation and integration. Salaberry proposes that some bilingual education programs, such as the dual-language programs, help to promote and embrace the connection between language and identity. In other words, he suggests that programs that have minority and majority students learning both languages assist children in drawing connections to differing cultural viewpoints. The chapter presents opposing and supporting positions with regard to bilingual education in the U.S. Among the arguments opposing bilingual education, Salaberry suggests, are the segregationalist perspective and the 'cost' perspective – the cost of building a multicultural society. Although he acknowledges the surmountable challenges that are met by dual-language programs, Salaberry maintains his stance in saying that these challenges should not detract from conducting research on the benefits of dual-language instruction for majority children.

As a closing commentary, I would like to add that the chapters in the book are engaging, critical, and current, in that they present the political and social discourses at the micro and macro level – something to imbue our thinking.

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The French language and the francophone population in Canada are of long standing. Both are currently islands in a sea of English and the English. From its early days as the dominant population in Canada and its gradual withdrawal to the heartland of Quebec, the francophone North Americans have been concerned about their place, and the place of their culture and language in a continent on the